

DISCONTENT

"MOTHER OF PROGRESS"

VOLUME I,

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NO. 2.

THE PROBLEM SOLVED.

No. 2.

In my first article I stated that the grand error of the old system of political economy was the unjust method of accumulating wealth through interest, rent and profit. Before showing the absurd and unjust claims of modern capitalists and moneyed men in this respect, I shall make a few general statements concerning the laws of human progress and the present serious, distressed and poverty-stricken social and economic condition of the modern industrial world.

The science of sociology, based upon the constitution of man and the facts of history, gives uncontroverted proof of the fact that mankind are intellectually, socially and economically progressive; are constantly, though slowly, ascending to higher stages of rational life. This progressive movement necessarily results from their constant accumulation of knowledge and experience.

"As a man thinketh, so is he"; and according to his knowledge and experience must be the character of his mind and his life work, as well as the intellectual and moral impulse he gives to society about him. And we, with nations.

All increase in the acquisition of knowledge, every new fact discovered, and every item of new experience with men and things must not only change the character of every individual, but the character of their institutions as well. And so, by slow degrees, society progresses by evolution through the various degrees of rational growth and life, from the savage to the most enlightened social state. But every advance made is through antagonism and warfare.

And in these mighty struggles for human progress multitudes are destroyed, but in the end the "fittest" individual, tribe, nation and institution "survives." Hence, a progressive step has been made; for the poorest and weakest fell, the strongest and best survived to make further advances.

It is well to observe that this human warfare may be, and is, waged upon three different and successive stages: 1. Where the physical predominates, then the strongest animal or man "survives." 2. Where the intellectual is superior, then the most intellectual, the most shrewd and cunning, "survive." 3. But when the intellectual and moral unite, then—not the physically strongest, not the most cunning, but the wisest, noblest and best become the "fittest," and most "survive."

And it is exceedingly encouraging and hopeful to the reformer of today that the moral element now enters so largely into all our discussions and conflicts for the reconstruction of the social and economic conditions of the race; for when the all-conquering influence of sympathy and love becomes united with the power of facts and figures we shall soon see a GRAND VICTORY over the old and

worn-out systems that so long have robbed and enslaved mankind.

Further, throughout all stages of society, we observe two opposite and antagonistic tendencies; the one is obstinately opposed to change, and, therefore, strongly conserves the present mode of thought, and the forms of social, religious and economic institutions. The other discovers serious errors in the prevailing system of philosophic thought and in the customs and institutions that invade human liberty and that otherwise obstruct all attempt at introducing better and wiser social conditions.

And, strange as it may at first seem, these opposing social forces are the essential elements in nearly all movements toward progress, both in science and in the practical affairs of life. In our time this fact is very observable.

Let the genius of a Morse or Fulton arise, and claim an important discovery regarding the transmission of intelligence, or of water transportation, and forthwith the cry is heard throughout all the community, "It is impossible! He is another wild crank, and would destroy the sacred institutions that our fathers left us. Lock him up!"

And not until years are spent in wrestling with poverty and bitter opposition, is he able to present his completed work to mankind, and thus prove to them his good intentions as well as his ability to improve their social and economic condition. And so let a Luther declare for greater liberty in religious thought; as Karl Marx or a Kropotkin that the existing system of economics is worn out and rotten to the very core; and INSTANTLY! the very air will smell of sulphur and the ears be deafened with exploding bombs.

At once society becomes alarmed and agitated with earnest discussion regarding the proposed innovation. And well it may, for a sudden change in the religious thought and life, or in the long-established customs and cherished institutions of a people, is striking a blow at the very foundations of their social order, happiness and well being, and hence the feelings of anger and the spirit of persecution that follows.

And this discussion and warfare must continue until, by thorough and exhaustive examination, the new thought is found not only to be harmless, but to be a positive improvement upon the old ways.

Upon the other hand, by this keen and searching mental conflict, the advocates of progress acquire a more complete and adequate estimate of the value of their proposed reform; and, besides, their determination to carry forward their noble work to completion is more fully aroused by the conservative opposition. Hence, by their constantly renewed efforts, with constantly improved methods, at last the victory is won.

And probably there is no conflict in human life better calculated to develop the heroic, and to call forth the utmost capacity of all our intellectual and moral

powers, than this gigantic warfare, waged for human progress.

The great metaphysician, Immanuel Kant, who is at his greatest when he discusses questions which are not metaphysical, wrote, nearly a century ago, a wonderfully instructive essay entitled "A Conception of Universal History in relation to Universal Citizenship," from which I will borrow a few pregnant sentences:

"The means of which Nature has availed herself, in order to bring about the development of all the capacities of man, is the antagonism of those capacities to social organization, so far as the latter does in the long run necessitate their definite correlation. By antagonism I here mean the unsocial sociability of mankind—that is the combination in them of an impulse to enter into society, with a thorough spirit of opposition which constantly threatens to break up this society. The ground of this lies in human nature.

"Now, it is this opposition which awakens all the dormant powers of men, stimulates them to overcome their inclination to be idle, and, spurred by the love of honor, or power, or wealth, to make themselves a place among their fellows, whom they can neither do with nor do without.

"Thus they make the first steps from brutishness toward culture, of which the social value of man is the measure. Thus all talents become gradually developed, taste is formed, and by continual enlightenment the foundations of a way of thinking are laid which gradually changes the mere rude capacity of moral perception into determinate practical principles; and thus society, which is originated by a sort of pathological compulsion, becomes metamorphosed into a moral unity." (I. c., p. 147.

"All the culture and art which adorn humanity, the most refined social order, are produced by that unsociability which is compelled by its own existence to discipline itself, and so by enforced art to bring the seeds implanted by Nature into full flower." (I. c., p. 148.

And the facts of history prove to us that no theme so deeply affects the souls of the great and good as that of laboring for the cause of truth and the well being of man. And the grandeur of such devoted labor is so profound that all obstacles in the way of success are felt to be but trifles, and even bitter persecution, imprisonment and death are met with rejoicing.

All hail! to that mighty host of noble men and women whose lives are now devoted to the new crusade of social and economic bondage and to the reorganization of society upon a basis of justice and liberty.

E. C. MILES.

GOLDMAN MEETINGS POSTPONED.

The meetings of Emma Goldman in Tacoma, May 20 and 21, announced on another page, have been postponed until further notice.

SENTIMENT.

Sentiment is a good thing in its proper place. It sometimes smooths over rough places, and in such cases it may be allied to reason. If it be not reason itself. The chief aim of life being to get as much pleasure as possible therefrom, when sentiment will secure a result that accepted ideas of science fail to secure, it is possible that sentiment itself is the true scientific solvent of the problem in hand.

But in the radical movement sentiment frequently usurps the place of fact. For instance, the accuracy of the phrases "Brotherly Love" and "Universal Brotherhood," as generally used, may well be called in question. From the standpoint of the common origin of the genus homo or of the utility of universal solidarity the terms are apt enough. But if we mean to hold up the fraternal regards of a family of brothers for each other the case is different.

I have frequently met friends of long standing between whom bitter words were never passed, but as between brothers and sisters of the same family it has seldom been my pleasure to meet any who can boast of the same undeviating harmony. The usual rule is that "brotherly love" is a misnomer; that it is "more honored in the breach than in the observance."

True, two brothers who continually wrangle and fight among themselves may unite in repelling insolence of an outsider toward either. But this is not a question of love, but one of clanishness—of patriotism on a small scale.

In requiring universal love as a prerequisite to universal happiness, we but adopt the christian ideal—an impossible one. All that we can hope the world will ever attain in this direction is universal friendship (with exceptions to even this rule). To ask for or expect more is to look for a race of angels, and the soil on this globe is not exquisite enough to produce them.

San Francisco. F. A. COWELL.

"The conflict between Labor and Capital! There is none! They harmonize fully. Labor having created Capital, naturally owns it—while 'property' lasts. But while Labor owns Capital, the capitalist has by cleverly contrived laws secured possession of the bulk of Labor's capital. The strife, then, is between Labor and Capitalist—producer and plunderer.

A Massachusetts judge has denied the petition of a young woman for permission to practice at the bar on the ground that she was not of good moral character, was guilty of crooked business transactions, and was charged with immoral relations with another lawyer. She must indeed be "lousy" if anything she has done in business is worse than is done every day by lawyers for a fee. Then, too, the male lawyers in that jurisdiction must be pinks of moral purity who wouldn't do naughty things; no, not for the world.—New Charter.

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IDEAS AND CRITICISMS.

A San Francisco daily which gave a report (on the whole liberal in tone) of Emma Goldman's lectures characterized her as "the most dangerous enemy of society." But it failed to state where society can be found. As we know no true society has ever yet existed. Conditions wholly anti-social cannot be the basis of society, and it is these anti-social conditions which Anarchists denounce.

The average apologist for present ignorance would denounce as an enemy of society, without discrimination, anyone who destroys property, as property is one thing sacred. Suppose two men burn houses. One burns those which his own labor has not created, and endangers the lives of others. That man is certainly an enemy of society, as he grossly infringes upon the rights of others.

Another first builds a house, then burns it, but in doing so he causes no injury to another. Most people would class him as a criminal and an enemy of society.

He would be neither. He would be a fool—almost as much of a fool as the upholder of any other labor-wasting "social" process. But he would be acting well within his own rights, and it would be the business of no one else. If it afforded him pleasure to labor for months and then to make a bonfire of the results—wherein, would he differ in principle from the "patriotic" person who burns up the result of an equal amount of labor celebrating the Fourth of July?

Well, in this: He would be less of an infernal nuisance to his neighbors!

What is the world coming to? Is Emma Goldman a hypnotist? The San Francisco morning papers, without exception, gave almost, almost, unbiased reports of her first lecture, which was upon "Patriotism," a subject which, treated from an Anarchist standpoint, is none too popular at the present time. Yet the Chronicle announced that her audience "was neither long-haired nor wild-eyed; but was composed of substantial citizens, pretty young women, bright-appearing children, gray and sedate old men, and a fair representation of the middle-aged male."

Thanks, awfully; it appears we are not all blood-drinkers.

But with the first effusion of candor (which, by the way, prompted the scribbles of one paper to declare that Emma Goldman was better worth hearing than Melba or Bernhardt) the dailies suddenly closed up like clams. To those who know the quips and quirks of journalism the reason is obvious—the gag was applied in the interests of property.

Notwithstanding this, "standing room only" was the rule every evening. State Socialists would insist on asking idiotic questions, for each and everyone of which Emma, like Abou Ben Adhem,

"for every why had a wherefore." She bowled them out as fast as they came up. At the end of one evening's howling a prominent Statist was heard to complain that "all the biggest fools in the range got up to make a show of themselves"; but he was badly disconcerted when a woman comrade sarcastically commented: "Yes, those who were wise kept quiet."

At times Emma surprised herself with her ready and pointed answers. When one Statist insisted on asking why love of country was not as just and proper as love for one's mother, the pre-representatives nodded at each other, as much as to say, "She's cornered now," but she wasn't. Her answer was quick and unhesitating:

"The mother gives birth to her child, suffers pains for it a thousand times, watches over it tenderly and lovingly as only a mother can, but your country—that one thing did it ever do for your good?"

Another asserted that numerous Anarchist-Communist colonies had been attempted and all had failed to harmonize. The answer was given that communism had been tried, but not Anarchist-Communism. All such attempts had failed as a basis for their efforts.

Right here Emma proved her fallibility, for one Anarchist colony did for a time thrive in this country—the community at Skaneateles, N. Y., established in 1843, a part of whose declaration read as follows:

"2. GOVERNMENTS.—A disbelief in the rigid existence of all governments based upon physical force; that they are organized bands of banditti, whose authority is to be disregarded; therefore we will not vote under such governments, or petition to them, but demand them to disband; do no military duty; pay no personal or property taxes; sit upon no juries; and never appeal to the law for a redress of their grievances, but use all peaceful and moral means to secure their complete destruction."

"3. That there is to be no individual property, but all goods shall be held in common; that the idea of mine and thine, as regards the earth and its products, as now understood in the exclusive sense, is to be disregarded and set aside."

Not only did this community have an existence, but it carried its creed of individual sovereignty to such a length as to allow anyone who desired to join. The result of this liberality was that, as usual, whenever there is a fighting chance for the present hell to be overthrown, a lot of Christians go inside and breed discord which resulted in a smash-up. The chronicler of the enterprise himself admitted that religion was the cause of the smash-up, and he was none other than "Rev." John H. Noyes, ultra religious founder of the Oneida community.

What probably specially drew the animosity of the religious fanatics down upon the heads of the communists was the fact that their first declaration regulated religious authority and the rule of priests. The one false note in their practice was orthodox marriage.

A San Francisco man committed a petty theft to keep his family from starving. Through the "leniency" of the

judge, and "gracious" amnesia of the governor of California he got off with 10 days. In the county jail? No! Ten days in state prison! City Treasurer Wilber, of San Francisco, is in jail awaiting trial for an admitted embezzlement of \$117,000, and the present prospects are as well as off without even a trial. To make matters more interesting, his \$100,000 bond appears to be worthless, and the company "guaranteeing" it also "guarantees" \$405,000 more—on paper—for city salary pullers. "Look on this, then on that," then tell me if comment is needed.

The czar of Russia presented the prince of Montenegro with an Easter gift of 30,000 repeating rifles and 25,000,000 cartridges. This was probably to carry out the theory of "peace on earth and good-will to men." No more appropriate reason has ever been heard, have been selected for such a present. It so pointedly shows the hypocrisy of Christianity.

At a recent Anarchist meeting a "reverend" got up and declared with muchunction, and much to the delight of the S. F. audience present, that "nowhere in the universe has the anarchistic idea a place in natural law. The stars in their courses are all governed by law."

A comrade, an individualist, answered: "What is law? The gentleman has failed to tell us. He does not know. When the will of the king of France was absolute he declared 'I am the law.' His will was law. When a majority governs their will is law. The order of the stars in their courses is a fact, not a law, as it is not an expression of a will."

While the answer was an apt one, and greeted with rounds of applause, it was one which might have been dispensed by the parson on the ground that the stars were governed by the will of a deity. This would have made the question one of religious opinion.

The greatest weakness in the parson's argument was in comparing a physical law to statutory enactments. Laws passed by men must always be subject to the caprice of the moment. Physical laws are eternal. These physical laws which govern human objects conform to a certain extent, the actions of humans, but the latter, as sentient beings, should certainly rise superior to inflexible rules of action. The square and plumb line are well enough when applied to bricks and boards, mathematical instruments may measure the motion of the planets; but it does not follow that they must be attached to the human brain. Each individual as a responsible being should decide for himself what course to pursue under a given circumstance—and in a democracy, provided the course adopted does not encroach on the liberty of others.

Gov't Regular Army, with headquarters at Portland and San Francisco, is hard luck. "General" Duggan, their high-muck-a-muck, has just gotten a 30-year sentence in state prison for "criminal assault on a girl 7 years old. He insists that he is a good Christian. That he is a Christian is quite probable.

I thought "Discontent" quite an ap-

propriate name for an Anarchist paper of today when we can point to no real solidarity nor to a free society, though we can easily find sure-enough discontent. But I see Baron Alphonse de Rothschild has views of his own on the subject. He says "only the idle and vicious are discontented."

Quoting St. Simon, the baron says: "To each according to his capacity, to each according to his work." But as the quotation barely resembles the real motto of "To each according to his ability," I think the baron was himself slightly mixed as well in his drinks as in his quotation.

San Francisco. F. A. COWELL.

FASHION AMONG FREE LOVERS.

The "Free Love" remains very much willibled by constant attack upon the pillars of science and the granite rocks of liberty. It tells us that "the point of cleanliness and neatness fashion has no function, except that of prostitution, nor should it flourish anywhere more extensively than among a society of free lovers." No doubt it should flourish more there than elsewhere so as to justify the assertion of Mr. Armstrong, but as a plain matter of fact it does not. In no other class of people of equal numbers is there so great independence of the dictates of fashion as there is among social radicals. The paper named continues: "Among a monogamous people, which we pretend to be, correct, Chinese shoes and cosmetics have no place." There can be no doubt that the most radical, the most intellectual, and the most fearless of women free-lovers have discarded the corset, do the best they can in the existing state of trade to get shoes that fit the feet, and make a very sparing use of cosmetics, when they resort to them. At all. Of course Mr. Armstrong commits the stupid blunder of confounding male and female prostitutes with free-lovers, but he might be induced to do the latter-day justice if he could have his eyes opened to the fact that social radicalism is the only philosophy that put into general practice, would destroy both marriage and prostitution, one and inseparable. Free love stands for the sexual freedom and responsibility of men and women, and this implies, as its indispensable condition, the economic independence of women. The self-sustaining and self-respecting woman does not sell her body, and hence she is not compelled to make use of the meretricious deformities which fashion imposes on her votaries. The thoughtful free woman is content with the "cleanliness and neatness" which experience has proven to her are sufficient to enable her to compete successfully with any other woman for the love and respect of the men whose love and respect she regards as worth the having.—E. O. Walker, in Lucifer.

One of the fundamental errors of many who are seeking to advance the condition of labor is the idea that there is not work enough to keep all the people employed. There is plenty of work, plenty of opportunity for profitable employment. But monopoly has put up a toll gate and demands tribute of those who seek to employ themselves.—New Era.

SLAVERY AND FREEDOM.

The dominant ideas of government are despotism and democracy—slavery and freedom. From the beginning of civilization they have been fighting for control. Kings drawing authority from the clouds and the people basing authority on "the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," have made the history of the world.

For thousands of years the kings were successful. Crowned robbers ruled the earth; jeweled tyranny forged the chains for freedom's spotless limbs, hounded her in dungeons, bowed her to pieces, with the sword and gave with devilish glee her devoted body to the flames. Force and murder enslaved the mass. From the birth of Christ to the fifteenth century they ruled supreme.

* *

A thousand years of worse than barbaric night, and as many years of creeds and churches, have debased and dwarfed the body and the soul of woman. Man has been slow to learn that she is not his inferior, nor in any sense his slave. And there are thousands of this Christian era who have yet to know of the equal dignity of the sexes, of the inviolable proprietorship of woman in proper person, of her supreme direction of the sexual in every sense—yes, there are millions of Americans who have yet to learn that love is a democracy of hearts; a democracy of absolute equality where each is a sovereign in an ideal sense—without which love is only lust; and that in the perfect commingling of soul with soul, each must be a sceptred monarch, unobeying and unobeyed.

It is a miserable kind of misery that loves company.

* *

Individuals who cannot survive in a condition of freedom should perish. That which slavery preserves is not worthy of existence. Freedom is opportunity, and there is no development where there is a lack of opportunity. Liberty is self-ownership, the power to do with one's self as he pleases. Under the present system we are free to do evil, but not to do good. No man can prevent my killing him, or doing him the utmost injury at least one time, but I can do him good only in a very limited way.

The most of men are afraid of freedom. They imagine that if men were free they would destroy one another. But they are unmindful of the simplest facts of life. They forget that self-interest is the regulative principle of society, and that if it were possible for mankind to destroy themselves they would have been destroyed long ago by government. There are many had men in business, men who are most vicious and destructive, yet you never hear of any of them setting fire to their goods just to see them burn; and if there were no insurance there would be none but accidental fires. Now, bad men do not destroy their property, because it is against their interest to do so. For what reason then would bad men attempt to destroy one another in a free society, in which they would have no motive for murder, except the mere pleasure of killing, which would always be restrained by the other fellow's ability to kill someone himself?—Armstrong's Autobiography.

A QUEER DECISION.

The following is from the Tacoma Ledger of the 5th instant: "At 2 o'clock, when court reconvened, Judge Kean read his decision. Judge Kean believed that both were at fault. He could not grant Mrs. Fawcett a divorce because it would be in effect to say that Mr. Fawcett was guilty of all the things imputed to him, whereas it was not true. He could not grant Mr. Fawcett a divorce because it would be the same as saying that Mrs. Fawcett was guilty of the charges against her. In order for either party to come in here and sue for a divorce their hands must be clean. 'Unless I can find that one of the parties is without fault I cannot give a decision. I will have to refuse a divorce in this case, and such is the judgment of the court.'"

That's right. When two are united, and both are mutually disagreeable; when hatred, jealousy and discontent is theirs, keep them together. Don't separate them unless one of them loves; unless one soul alone can feel the misery.

This decision only adds one more page to that "queer and quaintly volume of forgotten lore." Keep the ball rolling, friends. Give it all the impetus possible while it is going down hill to dissolution that it may be the more effectively remove the debris of intolerance, deceit, ignorance and superstition from its path, and when at last it ascends the incline of progress that it may reach the highest plane compatible with human happiness.

O. A. VENTRY.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

In Free Society of February 6 is an argument against capital punishment by Mr. Wallace Yates. And from a Christian standpoint it is fair and logical. But there are some of us who doubt the wisdom of the Christian philosophy. I do not know that any such man as Jesus Christ ever lived; I do not know whether he was the lord of the sun gods, and whether his followers today are the last relics of a once famous tribe of sun worshipers or not; neither do I care, for it is not to the point. What I do know, however, is that much of the teachings attributed to him and his followers is exceedingly silly. His doctrine of non-resistance, for instance, was downright idiocy. If it were possible to carry this doctrine to its logical conclusion, it would mean the total destruction of the human race! Christ and his followers knew nothing either of the philosophy or science of evolution. If they did they would have seen clearly that it is only by resistance that life is made possible. If mice did not resist cats by running away, or combining their efforts to overcome their enemy, they would soon become extinct, and so on through all animal life.

It is a strange fact, but nevertheless true, that our emotions and sympathies are nearly always in conflict with our reasoning faculties; this would not be so had only for the fact that our emotions too often get the better of our reason, hence the popular cry "Down with capital punishment!" Our reason, however, will only triumph over our emotions when we outgrow that religious superstition that teaches us that man is endowed with certain attributes not possessed by other animals; that

man has a thing called "the soul," but an earth worm has none, etc. Now, man's life is of no more consequence than that of other animals. The life of a Homer, a Goethe, or a Shakespeare, is no more "sacred" than that of a toad, a potato bug or a plant louse. This statement is not poetic, but it is true.

Taking the evolutionist's view, then—which is the Anarchist's view—it is within the bounds of probability that man was the first animal to discover the power of associated effort. It was the discovery and utilization of this power which placed him at the head of the animal kingdom. This power he has exploited, both defensively and aggressively. When man used the power of associated effort defensively, to save himself from annihilation in the struggle for existence, he was acting anarchistically; when he used the power of associated effort aggressively, to destroy, to rob, and to plunder others, he was acting archistically. And that was the beginning of government. It is, then, the latter use of this great power that the anarchists are crying out against. If it is necessary that man should adopt defensive measures to protect himself from the attack of other animals, well and good. Again, if it is necessary to adopt defensive measures (capital punishment) to protect himself from the attack of members of his own species, well and good.

No; Anarchists and libertarians do not denounce capital punishment. They simply regret its necessity. Yet there is hope that even this necessity will be gradually and finally eliminated; for just as men come to appreciate the true value of equal freedom they will cease to commit aggressive acts.

Boston. WM. A. SMITH.

WHAT IS NOT PROPERTY.

"What is property?" asked Proudhon. Nowadays nearly all things are property. "What is not property?" is a more pertinent question.

The Iowa legislature of a year ago answered Proudhon's query by passing a law making a dog property, though any sausage maker could have made property out of a canine without any law to assist. Judge Grossinger, of San Francisco, comes up smiling with an answer to the query. He says a newspaper left lying on a doorstep by a carrier is not property, hence cannot be stolen, since it has passed out of possession of one party and not passed into the possession of another.

As the enforcement of law depends upon the constitution placed upon it by the judiciary the judge knows what constitutes property in his bailiwick, so his decision "goes."

The very soul of my soul—if I have a soul—is tired of the word respectable. It is not that I don't want to be respectable, for I do; and I am respectable; but I don't want it held as a club over my head all the time, constantly threatening me with excommunication if I happen to say a thing that no other person has said, or do a thing for no better reason than because I want to do it. I believe this word has done more to crush the rising buds of originality, and stamp them back into the flat incongruous muck of the conventional commonplace, than any other word. It is an enemy to emancipation; a foe to the freedom which makes a man a man.—Helen Williams, in Freedom.

EMMA GOLDMAN TO SPEAK.

Emma Goldman, the indefatigable worker for the freedom of man and woman, will lecture in Tacoma Friday and Saturday evenings, May 20 and 21, thence will sojourn a few days at this colony, at Lakebay, and thence proceed to Seattle. Her meetings are meeting with unbounded enthusiasm wherever she goes; standing room is at a premium, while the vast crowds are held spellbound with her deep logic or fill the hall with applause at her pure statements of the principles of freedom. Those who do not hear her will miss a treat.

LIBERTY VS. GOVERNMENT.

Liberty and freedom are synonymous; freedom and government are antagonistic. Government means control, and just in proportion as man is controlled is he deprived of liberty. The term free government is a misnomer; as well speak of a free slave or a good evil. Government by majority may be preferable to government by minority, but the control of one by many is equally tyrannical and unjust with the control of many by one.

There can be no good government, for where good begins government ends. Freedom is necessary to progress, and true progress ever increasing freedom.

Play worship, and hero worship, and money worship, co-essentials to the stability of government, are not elements of progress—even though militarism be necessary to enforce these privileges. True liberty will eliminate standing armies and hordes of useless public servants. It will give all, without regard to age, sex or ability, equal opportunities for development. It will establish real equality among men, and open avenues for progress of which but few have even dreamed.

If we care more for truth, and progress, and humanity than we do for idols, and superstition, and prejudice, let us have absolute freedom of thought and expression; for in this way only can the truth be found and made known. To all and the way opened for a broader liberty, and the time hastened when the idols of the past shall be broken and governments, no longer recognized as necessary, shall be consigned to their place among the relics of a barbarous past.—Chas. Hopkinson, in New Era.

The revolutions which formerly took place in the world, had nothing in them that interested the bulk of mankind. They extended only to a change of persons and measures, but not of principles, and rose or fell among the common transactions of the moment. What we now behold, may not improperly be called a "counter revolution." Conquest and tyranny, at some early period, dispossessed man of his rights, and he is now recovering them. And as the tide of human affairs has its ebb and flow in directions contrary to each other, so also is it in this. Government founded on a moral theory, on a system of universal peace, on the indefensible, hereditary rights of man, is now revolving from west to east by a stronger impulse than the government of the sword revolved from east to west. It interests not particular individuals but nations in its progress, and promises a new era to the human race.—Thomas Paine.

JOES' DAY.

There is a spot on earth
That I have called my home,
Where I would love to settle down.
The world no more to roam.

The waters of the bay,
And all the quiet nooks,
I hold in memory ever dear.
As thoughts I find in books.

What makes this spot so dear—
The fairest of the earth?
'Tis where my restless soul has found,
That freedom has its birth.

I there a promise feel,
That in a future great,
I'll find a realm that truly free
From taint of church or state.

Where each will live for all;
Where all will care for each;
And in an atmosphere of love,
They'll practice what they preach.

Let all, whose hearts beat high,
For freedom's best day fight,
Work for the cause with noble zeal,
As practical as Jose Day.

C. L. FENIMORE.

DO YOU WANT A HOME?

While men and women are surrounded by conditions that are daily growing worse, making it harder for each to obtain a home that is worthy of being called HOME, with all the comforts that are justly due those who labor, thousands are turning this way and that in an earnest endeavor to better their own and their fellow man's condition.

That a union of effort is the only practical way out has at last been conceded, but to just how this union of effort is to be accomplished has been a stumbling block to many.

There have been numerous societies formed looking forward to the attainment of man's freedom from the slavery that is becoming more and more apparent, yet, upon close analysis of their principles, many are found to be defective and contain within themselves the germs of decay and disintegration.

The freedom that they wished to obtain proves to be slavery in some other form, and while these may prove better financially, yet they fall far short of establishing those conditions that all lovers of true liberty so earnestly desire.

The foundation of all associations should be absolute liberty; the liberty of each to assert his or her own individuality. The greatest progress can only be made by the unfolding of each and every mind to its fullest capacity. All restrictive measures must of necessity retard the evolution of humanity. Laws, rules, customs and edicts of society are mere infringements upon the natural rights of man and woman, curtail their freedom and make complete happiness a myth. Free association carries with it no restrictive measure except that which is held accountable only for the infringement upon another's natural right, and these being mistakes will be rectified by all humanity in their search for happiness.

Land being the base of life it follows that all need and are entitled to a home. The establishing of the Mutual Home Association opens up a way to many of obtaining a home. Looking to this end we invite the co-operation of all those who believe in throwing off the oppressive yoke of God, Government and Society to unite their efforts with ours to establish a condition or community where we can assert true manhood and womanhood, a community where the

every impulse that stirs the soul of man and woman may find the recognition due, no matter what the sordid tongue of ignorance, hypocrisy and Grundy may have to say. To all such lovers of freedom we give a hearty welcome, and we feel sure that the industries needed to supply all with the comforts and luxuries will be established from time to time as needed, and on a basis mutually agreeable to the workers.

The natural resources of this vicinity are many and varied, and only await the intelligent application of manual and machine labor to supply the workers with a comfortable competence.

That those living at a distance may gain knowledge of us and our surroundings we give a description of them.

Our location is 22 miles due west of Tacoma, Wash., on a small bay named Jose, about one-half mile wide and one mile long. We have 21 adult members, with a total population of 48. Our ways of making a living are logging, cordwood, taking contracts, and clearing for garden for sale only.

The land of western Washington may be properly divided into two classes—river and creek bottoms, and uplands. On account of its richness of soil and retention of moisture, the bottom lands rank first for agricultural purposes; however, the upland is by no means worthless, and for some things superior, such as fruits, corn and tomatoes. With proper handling and fertilization the uplands can be made highly productive. All kinds of vegetables and cereals do well except corn and melons, they can be grown, but not for profit. This is the home of the fruits—all kinds yielding abundantly.

Land ranges in price from \$5 to \$500 per acre according to location. Land is usually heavily timbered, but along the shores of Puget sound has been logged off. It will take from 60 to 100 days' labor to clear an acre.

The climate is equable, the extremes of heat and cold not being reached here as in the east, averaging about 80 degrees in the summer with an occasional hot spell of two or three days when it will get to 90 or 98 in the sun.

No severe wind or thunder showers like they have in the east. A few windy days in the spring and fall, when the wind blows steadily for one or two days at a time.

Our rainy weather sets in about October 1 and lasts until spring. Our rainy season does not consist of continuous rain, but there are many bright, and partly bright, days. During the last of July, August and September we have but little rain.

Winters are mostly mild, ranging from 20 degrees down to zero, only occasionally reaching the latter point. Our snow fall ranges from one inch to four, but only one winter in five reaches the latter figure, the fall generally being from two to five inches. It seldom snows before Christmas, and our winters last but a few weeks, as considerable garden is planted in February.

There are no poisonous insects, reptiles or plants here. The harmless garden snake is the only snake here. There are but very few mosquitoes, no potato bugs, or tomato worms; we have the hop hound, cabbage looper and green aphid.

Regarding the association, it was organized by people who had passed

through the state socialist idea of co-operation, and finding true liberty an impossibility under State Socialism they broadened out into the ideas advocated by Anarchy or voluntary Socialism. Our principal ideas being that land should be free, and that occupancy and use should constitute the only title.

We endeavored to formulate an agreement by which we could hold the land in common and at the same time guarantee its use and occupancy. This, we think, we have done as well as possible under the laws of the land, which restrict the rights and privileges of all. We have incorporated these articles of agreement under the benevolent laws of this state. We, however, disliked to do so, but found that our only safe means of holding land in common.

Our next idea of voluntary association does away with majority rule. We find that men and women naturally advocate new ideas and unite around the most feasible plan of action in supplying their own wants; if the majority is giving up their ideas to the majority find in so doing that their best interests are threatened then they will refuse, and this refusal will always act as a check on the majority, compelling them to modify their ideas, thereby gaining individual liberty and a true basis of co-operation. Our internal workings being on this line always grant perfect freedom to the individual as far as we are concerned, and leaving all free from any interference by the association, it being for holding land only.

We have near by a creek which will give us from 20 to 40 horse power that we can utilize to run any machinery that we may erect. We believe the shingle industry can be made a paying business here, as we have abundant timber. We need a few more workers with a little cash to assist in erecting a mill. Other industries can be started just as fast as members unite and their labor can produce them. The canning industry is one of the most feasible, as we have an abundance of the raw material (fish) for the catching and can raise fruit and vegetables in abundance.

A good shoemaker could do well with us, and find steady employment. In fact, any worker wishing a home of his or her own can find a chance to obtain one here under as favorable conditions as anywhere else, and at the same time be surrounded by those with liberal ideas.

O. A. VERRY.

SEX ANTAGONISM.

O, this sex antagonism! Shall we ever grow away from it? It is one of the most distressing of our inheritances from the past. Who has not seen two horses harnessed together, straining at a heavy load, and kicking and biting each other? Neither is to blame for the existence of the load, but they suffer and blindly fight each other. It is so with men and women. They labor under heavy restrictions. They do not realize the cause of their trouble, but each thinks the other is to blame. Instead of the teeth and hoofs of our equine fellow sufferers, they use tongue and pen in bitter reproach which is thinly veiled in terms of jest.

Said a reporter for the Star, in an interview: "I can understand how you might easily convert men to your views, but not women. Everyone agrees

that women have it all their own way in America, as it is. How can they ask for more privileges?"

I assured him that he was misinformed; that the reputed position of women in the United States was one of the pleasant fictions commonly used to soothe the spirit to contented inaction.

It is merely a polite lie, akin to that which declares that the citizens of the United States have political self-government. And even if it were true, it would not be a desirable condition. When marriage involves injustice to men, it is as wrong as when the injustice is suffered by women. We do not want "privileges" for either men or women. What both men and women need is liberty and justice.—From Lillian Harman's London Letter, in Lucifer.

DISCONTENT will fill out all unexpired subscriptions to the New Era.

CONTRIBUTORS.

A. Klemencic \$5, Mrs. Wilson \$1.50.

MEETINGS AND HEADQUARTERS.

Social Science Club, Lee's hall, 8 E. 4th street, New York City. Free lectures and discussion in English every Wednesday evening, 8:15 o'clock.

Group Proletarian of New York City gives anarchist lectures Friday at 8 o'clock, Orchard street, and Saturdays at 21 Suffolk street.

The San Francisco (Cal.) Italian Anarchist Club meets every Saturday night at 111 Tenth street.

Anarchist Headquarters of San Francisco, 174 Polson street, open every evening from 7 to 10 p. m.

Wendell Phillips Educational Club meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 31 Robinson street, Providence, R. I. Pamphlets in English, German, French, Jewish and Russian languages on hand.

The People's Union, a free discussion club, meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock, 145 Madison street, Providence, R. I.

The Free Connection, 505 South Third street, Philadelphia, Pa. Open every evening.

The Independent Educational Club meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock, at 127 South 2 street, Tacoma, Wash.

The Manhattan Liberal Club meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock in the German Masonic temple, 230 E. 14th street, New York.

The Ohio Liberal Society meets every Sunday, at 7:30 p. m., in G. A. R. hall, 35 West 4th street, Cincinnati.

The German Group, Chicago, meets every Friday, 8 p. m., at 535 Missions Island avenue.

The International Group, Chicago, meets every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 128 Halsted street, near Desplain street. The object of the group is to spread radical literature.

The Independent Debating Club, St. Louis, 101-2 Market street, room 7, meets every Thursday at 8 p. m.

The Equity Club meets every Sunday at 2 p. m., at 117 Third street, San Francisco, for the discussion of all questions that may arise, especially the sex question. Free platform for everybody.

RADICAL PAPERS.

Progressive Thought and Dawn of Equity, Chicago, Keen is the objective of the Exchange movement. It is full of L. R. news and contains the views of the progressive ideas, co-operative facts and advocates the correct way out of hard times. Send for sample copy.

Leader: The Light of Liberty, 111 E. 11th street, New York. Light on the sex question. This is a radical paper, published by H. H. Harman, 1294 Congress street, Chicago.

The Adult, the Journal of sex, 16 John street, Bedford in London, G. B. England. 3d. Monthly, 4d. Post free.

Freedom, an Anarchist monthly, 20c per year. Address: 7 Lambeth Road, London, W. C., England.

Solidarity, an International Review of Anarchist Communism. A semi-monthly, 50c a year. Address: J. H. Edelman, 36 First street, New York City.

Free Society, an exponent of Anarchist Communism, 34 G. St. Cleveland, Ohio.

THE ALTRUIST is a monthly paper, partly in phonetic spelling, and devoted to common property, social justice, labor, and social rights. It is issued by the Altruist Community, which will sell all their property for their majority vote. 25 cents a year; sample copy, 10c. Address: A. Longley, 238 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.

Sturm und Drang, 80 First street, New York City, is an Anarchist paper, published in German, semi-monthly, 50c a year.

Freiheit, a German Anarchist weekly, price \$2 a year. Address: 411 Broadway street, New York.

La Tribune Libre, a French Anarchist weekly, price \$1 per year. Address: Charrier, Pa.